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Woerner, William F.

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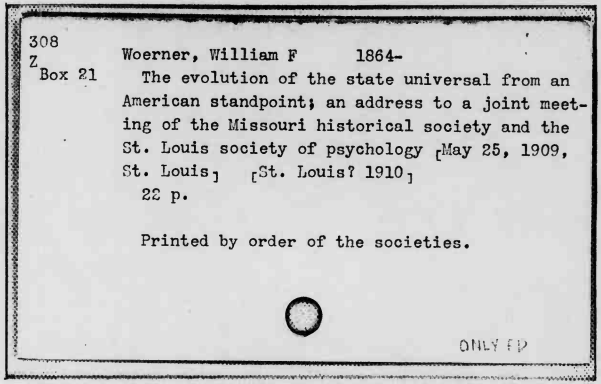

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The Evolution of the State Universal from an American Standpoint.

AN ADDRESS

TO A JOINT MEETING OF

THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY and

THE ST. LOUIS SOCIETY OF PSYCHOLOGY

by

WILLIAM F. WOERNER.

Printed by order of the Societies.

1910

The Evolution of the State Universal from an American Standpoint.

The Missouri Historical Society numbers amongst its members Denton J. Snider, whose new system of thought gave rise to the St. Louis Society of Psychology, and who will, in the judgment of many of us, in time to come, be looked upon as one of the most advanced thinkers of this period.

For the disciples of the Sniderian school of Psychology, History is viewed not only from a more comprehensive standpoint than hitherto, but it has a new and deeper significance.

There is seen as its deepest essence the Psychosis—that distinctively Twentieth Century thought evolved from Nineteenth Century Evolution—that three-fold process, which, once seized and comprehended, we find must of necessity be the essence of all science, art, religion, philosophy, of all human institutions, yea of Man himself and of Divine Truth.

Let us not, however, digress into the broad field of abstract thought, but confine ourselves to History, as such.

By the term History we ordinarily mean the record of the formative periods and events in evolving those political institutions by which man has sought to work his way to freedom—to externalize by a human institution the relation of the individual to the Universal.

Perhaps the most profound impression upon the human mind which results from an intelligent appreciation of the principles of Evolution, physical and psychical, is the demonstration of the truth of the religious or instinctive teleological feeling that all things tend to an ultimate or ideal goal, that the Higher is constantly evolving from the Lower, that life must always become more universal, and that in all things there is manifested an unseen Universal and Infinite Mind, making for an ultimate Ideal Ethical End.

Can we discern this in the evolution of History?

The World's History, like progress or evolution in any direction, must be viewed in perspective, as an entirety.

Otherwise we lose the significance of its trend and real meaning, and the true relations of events to each other and to the whole.

So would one lose the general direction of the strong flow of the Mississippi from north to south, were he too closely to follow in minutia the eddies, counter-currents and windings in flow and channel, tending in every conceivable direction, often directly contrary to its junction with the Eternal Sea.

Interpreted in this spirit, what is the ideal toward which man is striving in his political efforts?

The office of the State, using the word in a generic sense, is to actualize institutionally the freedom or free-will of the individual. It must safeguard and enforce the free will of the citizen by law. In exercising his rational or free will no man can theoretically come in conflict with a similar exercise by another. In so far as there is conflict there is capricious (not true) will, which it is the office of the State to cancel, declaring it to be contrary to law.

Under ideal conditions there can be no such thing as conflict, either between men, or races, or States. Where each wills to recognize and realize the rational will of every other, absolute harmony must prevail.

Such Utopian ideals are of course impossible of realization now, and will be for an indefinite period to come, because they assume absolute knowledge on the part of man—knowledge of what rational will *is*.

Ignorance is the real barrier to progress—it is about synonymous with evil and error. But the pains and penalties visited upon humanity for ignorance and error are the teachers by which finally we learn to grope towards truth. Progress is slow, but we know we have made *some*.

In the ideal State, then, the Law must realize the free will of the citizen, which involves the cancellation of arbitrary, capricious or partial will.

And every such State must recognize the same office in every other State.

Could such ideal conditions prevail there would be recognized by all Nations the Supreme Law above all, which aims to preserve them each and which each aims to preserve.

This is akin to that Utopia which we may term the State Universal.

The recognition of this Higher Spirit, or Law of the Universal State, involves the manifestation of its universality by an extension of its reign over every particular State eligible therefor. Every State ripe for admission, for that very reason, wills such admission, nor can it so will until it is ready to become a constituent part of the Universal.

Whereupon neither Universal nor Particular can exist without the other, any more than the parts can exist without the whole and vice versa. The preservation of each is coincident with that of the other.

Now, looking back over the evolution of History, can we in fact see a tendency toward such an Ideal, even if it be vaguely realized or worked out altogether unconsciously by humanity?

History is a record of the outer manifestations of the psychical evolution of man.

At certain periods the time arrives when a higher or developing new consciousness must make itself valid by overcoming the old.

Then ensues a conflict which is a world historical event.

Unfortunately we have not yet come to the age when such a milestone in the highway of political evolution can be passed without bathing it in a deluge of blood. The vindication of the World Spirit has ever been by right of might. Generally speaking, the greater *power* has been coincident with the higher *thought*.

Hence history consists chiefly of a record of wars.

As we leave the savage state we become ever more universal in recognition of the equal rights of all. A uniform rule is to measure the acts of all—there begins the Reign of Law.

Disputes and rights are determined by an abstract rule of action, universal in its application to concrete cases. Settlement by individual force, the only recourse of the savage, by degrees becomes unnecessary, unprofitable, unlawful and obsolete. Justice administered by the State displaces the crude code of personal vengeance for a real or fancied wrong, once deemed ethical by the barbarian.

All individuals in the State are put under law.

Law is but the expression of the aggregate will of the people—hence its immense power, having latently within it and behind it the aggregate force of all the people.

The basic aim of every civilized nation is after all the same. To give effect thereto is the office of the Universal State.

However, the recognition by the existing nations of the principles of co-operation amongst themselves, and a recognition of the existence of the rights of each by the other, is as yet woefully imperfect.

But, just as the disputes, controversies and conflicts of individuals have gradually through the ages come to be determined by the reign of law within the several States, instead of by the old notion of private vengeance and individual prowess, so we can look forward to a remote day when in the State Universal the disputes, controversies and differences of nations may be settled by a higher International Law, institutionalized in a World's Supreme Tribunal. Created by the Nations of the Earth, this tribunal shall also have sovereign powers to conserve and preserve the rights of each of its component parts.

Viewed in its broadest aspect, the march of History in general is from what we may say is the State Universal implicit, onward through its disruption in the separative stage, back to the State Universal organized, *i. e.*, consciously institutionalized.

In its movement the World's Spirit in history has already encircled the Globe. From the Pacific on the east it sweeps around the Earth to the Pacific on the west, meanwhile tarrying in its course in Europe, for nearly twenty-three centuries.

The first stage is manifested in the Oneness of the Orient. The will of the Orientals is that the will of the Monarch shall be their will; to defeat his will is to defeat their own.

The necessity of the independent freedom of the individual is lost sight of, or rather it is involved in the rule of the One who alone represents the State.

The relation of the Individual to the Universal is not comprehended. Hence there can be no conception of injustice in the rule of caprice, of arbitrariness, of absolute despotism characterizing this stage. The original Oriental mind did not even arrive at the stage where it could conceive of its being a part of a larger whole, so implicitly universal was its consciousness, or rather unconsciousness.

A perfect type of this phase is ancient China. This, the oldest and most eastern of all peoples, possessed the earliest civilization, which it had developed to quite considerable degree when first known; in fact, it was perhaps for ages the only country on earth possessing any, although it is by some held that the cradle of civilization is the delta of the Nile in prehistoric Egypt. But China has remained for five thousand years stagnant.

China is all there is of the World, for the Chinese. So much so that when forced by actual contact to think about an outside, the Chinese mind typified its deepest conception of exclusive Oneness by attempting physically to wall itself in by the Great Chinese Wall extending around the empire.

China has never sought to impart her civilization to the world. With a few apparent exceptions, she has never sought to extend her dominion by conquest.

Comparatively recent events, however, demonstrate that Chinese isolation can no longer endure. The Flowery Kingdom

is herself rapidly awakening to that fact, as will be shown when we touch upon this phase again hereinafter.

It is now well established by comparative philology that our Aryan or Caucasian race originated somewhere in that Ethnical Garden, Central Asia; and it is known that the Chinese came into contact with the ancient Aryans, from which latter stock came all of what have hitherto been the historical peoples—Persian, Greek, Roman, Teuton.

It is, therefore, considering the measureless antiquity of Chinese civilization, not an illegitimate inference that even the ancient Aryans received their first notions of the political State from their yellow neighbors, and developed it in their own way in their successive migrations to West Asia and Europe, although high authority traces the incipiency to Egypt and the Nile. Chinese scent-bottles with inscriptions have been found in Egyptian tombs 1700 years before Christ.

At all events in our historical consciousness West-Asia and ancient Egypt have always been considered typical of the Orient.

Both Persia and Egypt are the east to Europe. Both belong to the first stage in the evolution of the Universal State. They also, like China, stand for implicit unity. Here also is the Absolute Ruler in whom the people live. He speaks with Divine voice; it is hardly distinguished from that of God. The individual is suppressed. There is no personal freedom for the subject, no universal law. There is nothing to regulate the Monarch's caprice.

But still there is a marked difference between Persian and Chinese conceptions. There is an advance in the right direction.

The West-Asia Oriental feels implicitly that there is a State outside of him, about which he thinks. Persia was not the World for the early Persian, as China was for the Chinese. The Persian's Aryan blood will not permit him to stagnate.

Being Absolute, he must by that same token seek the conquest of all without his domain and bring it within. Else he is no Universal Despot.

Unlike China, Persia seeks to go outside of herself by conquest. Within, too, there is a glimmer of individualism, which, however, the State puts down. The One feels that there is such a thing as a Particular or part, to which, however, the Whole is hostile and which it must eliminate.

But in attempting to do this and vindicate its innermost conception, the Orient must necessarily undo itself, thereby teaching unconsciously that the part must be reckoned as a constitutive element. This is the lesson the World learns through Persia from Greece, and with the great conflict between Persia and Greece comes the transition to the second stage of Universal History.

The second stage represents the part asserting itself against the whole.

There is an emergence from implicit oneness into a recognition of the parts of which it is constituted. Each part, however, insists it is All, thus seeking to include the whole in a part—a denial of the Universal—wherein lies the ultimate contradiction.

The development of this idea is through Greece, to Rome, finally to modern Europe.

Greece represents the autonomy of the City-State. The Greek idea is a splitting up into cities, each of which is sovereign, thereby denying Greece to be a Nation. It persists to the end in the ascendency of each part. It cannot universalize the City-State, and for that reason must fall when assailed by Roman Association.

Next comes Rome, developing the notion of the City-State and seeking to make it universal, by absorbing in one city the whole Mediterranean World.

But in the final analysis it is not the true Roman conception to impart absolute Romanism to the World, but it subsumes its provinces by force, without real assimilation, without conceding them to be an equal and incorporated part of itself.

The result, by a process of adjustment and rearrangement through the Medieval ages, is the formation of many Romes,

under different names, yet all still denying the universality of Empire except each for itself.

These are the modern Nation-States of Europe, each still in the second stage of evolution. Separation is still the fundamental conception.

It is due to this dissociative spirit amongst themselves that the Aryan European powers, who are really uni-racial and uni-religious, by their mutual jealousies and distrust, have enabled the Turk, representing an alien race and a religion repugnant to Europe, to conquer and for centuries to hold, and still hold, an Empire on European soil.

In Europe the supremacy or sovereignty of each Nation is the ultimate—there is nothing recognized above it or outside it. Man is still ruled from above; the people do not yet determine, although beginning to aspire more and more in that direction. The highest conception of European citizenship, as of its philosophy, is to strive for alignment with the Absolute, which is supra-human. Obedience to a pre-existing given standard is demanded, not to one self-determined.

Separation is still the European's main concept, although rudimentary symptoms of a higher one occasionally appear, as for instance the Empire under Constantine, the birth of the German Federation of 1870, and notably the formation of the Hague Tribunal in recent years, crude and ineffective as this may be.

But the old ideals of Europe are too deeply rooted in time and precedent to hope for spontaneous development into a new conception, without a shock and impetus from without.

So the World Spirit leaves Europe and leaps to a new continent.

Here begins the third stage of General History, as yet rudimentary and embryonic, but still bearing evidence of fruition in the fullness of coming time.

This third stage is the return to the Universal State consciously organized and institutionalized, by recognition of the Whole as being composed of all its parts and the existence of the parts as constituting the Whole.

Beginning its implicit stage in Asia, the land of unity without recognition of nations, the World Spirit passes to its separative stage through Europe, the land of many nations without recognition of unity, thence to its mediatory stage on to America, the land of explicit unity of many States, forming one Nation-union, thus adumbrating the idea of the State Universal.

American government in its very inception, in its Declaration of Independence, plants itself upon the doctrine of the universal brotherhood of man, "that all men are created equal."

Now for the first time the ego knows itself politically creating its own government. It no longer is given an outside standard by which it is measured, and to which it must attain. Psychology—in the Sniderian sense—becomes nascent in the political world.

Here the governed becomes also the governor. Man consciously determines for himself the law which determines him.

He wills that his particular act shall be measured by his own universal standard created by himself.

True freedom of the individual was in the Declaration asserted for the first time, and for all time.

And then in its vindication was fired that "shot that was heard 'round the world," for in it spoke the voice of the World Spirit.

It meant the grand political emancipation of man. It was fired not for the right to rule others, but for the right of man to rule himself.

The War of Independence vindicated individual freedom—theoretically.

But in fact its realization was very partial—to the extent only that the times were ripe for its application. That is to say every individual was free—if he was a Caucasian. The great theoretical truth solemnly promulgated "to be self-evident, that *all* men are created equal," was practically nullified by the implied proviso that "all" meant "some."

Its complete vindication was left to be realized by a later generation, only to be won after a struggle the fiercest known to History.

Nor did the first Confederation of colonies see more than that in union there was strength. Their union was but an alliance against a common danger—a league such as the world had often seen before, even back of the days of Ancient Greece. The original Confederation really constituted no Nation.

No higher law was recognized than the will of each respective State. The inherited notion of European separativeness still thoroughly imbued the minds of the Fathers.

The inevitable result was that upon the termination of the War of Independence, and the removal of the common danger, the alliance threatened to dissolve into its separate units, like a rope of sand. History threatened an American repetition of the fate of the Achaian League.

The new States became more anxious to injure each other than to co-operate; more concerned in handicapping each other's trade and prestige than in promoting the common welfare of all, or cementing ties of friendship. Petty jealousies were rife. The monetary system was chaotic. Insurrections and lawlessness became common. The so-called Continental Congress levied taxes for Government—the very life blood of the Nation—which it had no power to enforce, and could not collect from defiant Sovereign States. To the so-called Government was denied the means of self-preservation.

Here indeed, after the Revolution had been effected, comes the real critical period of American history. All that had been won trembled in the balance.

But again is heard the voice of the World Spirit—by some.

It was at such a time that there was finally assembled in 1787 a convention of Greatest Americans, whose deliberations, after overcoming apparently insurmountable difficulties, finally culminated in the formulation of a marvelous production, marking a new era—the Constitution of the United States of America.

In that instrument, too, is found the recognition of its universality over all the Earth. It is made a State producing Union of States. Whenever the time arrives when other States measure to the Universal Standard, they are to become parts of the whole; and the whole is equally to include these parts. It was the new recognition, applied to the State, that the Declaration had applied to men.

Each State must govern its relations toward every other, and the whole, by a system of Supreme Law, universal in its application to each. It extends the Reign of Law *to* the State as well as *within* the State. To the Universal Spirit, which is the soul of government in all nations alike, is now given form, organization, expression. Prior thereto this was unknown amongst the nations of the Earth.

As the strife and conflict of the savage to maintain himself against his fellow-men through his own feeble individual efforts is superseded in the evolution of civilization by the infinitely more effective protection of general law administered by the State, so also the strifes, disputes, jealousies and mutually destructive tendencies of the individual States, are now superseded by a general law above them all, self-adopted by each and all to protect each and the whole.

It is a narrow view to say that Statehood surrenders a portion of its freedom or sovereignty to a Central Government such as ours. This is no more true than to say that lawless barbarians, recognizing no restraint or bounds, surrender their freedom by organizing themselves into the law-enforcing State.

On the contrary it is just thereby that the highest freedom is attained and the rights of Statehood are forever preserved and guaranteed.

But was this new thought of a Supreme Universal Law to be adopted by this peaceful means, and thereby form an exception to the invariable law that the trail of political, like biological, evolution is marked at every forward step by the blood and destruction of that which stands for the superseded?

The final test was long in coming, but it was bound to come.

Now, a so-called law is in reality of no real significance, unless and until it truly expresses the formulated consciousness of the people. This is pre-eminently true of a Constitution, the most fundamental expression of law known to man.

Like all great strides in science, or in the evolution of thought, the new political truth could not and did not become part of the consciousness of the people over night. Not even so in half a century.

And this is because the fundamental process of history is not so much intellectual as it is vital. Formative ideas must become part of the actual life and spirit of the people. They must be felt and appreciated before the formulation can avail.

As in case of the Declaration so also the principles inherent in the Constitution were still largely theoretical.

Those twin contradictions to American thought—Slavery and Secession—lurked from the first in our institutions, ever ominously leering from the background.

Nor can it be denied that beneath the patriotic claims of the indissolubility of the Union, there rested for nearly three generations of American life, deep down in the breasts of statesmen and people, the conviction that the Union, whatever it was theoretically, was in fact a mere compact of Sovereign States, to be preserved only by the common consent of all.

Such recognition can be felt running sadly like un unseen minor thread in the utterances of the Union's greatest antebellum advocates, even while they were vehemently denying that right. In the background it was ever tacitly conceded, though with ever diminishing readiness, during the many years before the final challenge spoke its doom.

These intervening years were of great value. It was the educative period wherein the people of sections where conditions were propitious, were rapidly being weaned away forever from the old-world conception of things. Years wherein there accumulated "those deep deposits of truth, silently formed in the heart of the Nation, in the long and painful working out of its life, its character, and its destiny."

The American Nation was at last becoming aware of its mission to the point of action.

The great truths of the Declaration and of the Constitution remained in reality theoretical only, until their final vindication was won in our Nation generations thereafter, and at fearful cost, in a struggle which shook the Nation to its center.

For three quarters of a century the believers in the supremacy of the Part and the advocates of the new stage denying its right to destroy the Whole, were slowly but inevitably lining up for the final grand test.

And that is the real significance of the Civil War as marking a world-historical event.

The issue of slavery was subordinate to the preservation of the Union.

True, slavery tested the question whether the people had risen to the true meaning of the Declaration of Independence to the point of its actual vindication. But it is true in a much deeper sense that this was but the particular or concrete form assumed by the far deeper and momentous question whether the principles involved in the Constitution should be vindicated, namely, that Statehood itself is to be controlled by Universal Law, being a part of the whole, which it cannot at will destroy.

Abolition could not have been accomplished by force had not slavery appealed to secession. But when it made the price of its existence the destruction of the Union, it had to go.

Intrenched behind the Constitution as construed by the courts, Slavery was in no danger when the zealous northern abolitionists, despairing of destroying that institution in the existing Union, themselves turned to Secession as the only effective remedy, pronouncing the Union as a "league with death and a compact with hell."

With Secession against it, the institution was immune.

But that situation could not long endure. Logically they must be allies, not enemies. Both were based on the notion of the supremacy of the part and non-recognition of the whole.

As Slavery denies the equal rights of men and of a civil law binding alike on all, so Secession denies the equal rights of

States, and of a Universal Law binding alike on all, denies itself as being a part of the whole, which it asserts to be itself.

Hence the real conflict came when the twin contradictions allied themselves for the final grand assault upon what American thought stood for as distinct from European.

Fortunately the instinct of the people enabled them to choose one as executive head of the Nation who was a true type of the underlying consciousness.

The appearance of great men at the right time is not accidental in history. These *must* appear, as a logical necessity.

They are simply the men who see, a little in advance of their fellow-men, the coming of a new step in the evolution of history, for which the times are ripe, and who stimulate the developing consciousness to realization.

Abraham Lincoln was such a leader. He not only deeply understood and sympathized with the unformulated feeling of the people, from whose midst he rose, but he had the ability to liberate the thought within them, to really make them know themselves. He was the link of steel that stood the crucial strain between two epochs.

Not only did Lincoln appreciate the principle that the Union must be preserved against destruction by the States, but he showed a deeper insight when its successful vindication brought on a bitter reaction wherein triumphant Federalism threatened to undo itself in its own excess, by practically destroying the lately rebellious States. He was big enough to see that the integrity of the whole, the Nation, conditions not only that the part shall not destroy the whole, but also that the whole must not destroy the part or State.

Disfranchisement and denial of equal rights to the Southern States by the North, meant the destruction of the Union just as much as the withdrawal of the same States by secession.

The real meaning of epochal events is generally but dimly seen by the mass of the participants therein, and only stands out when seen in the perspective of time. Even now the fuller and deeper import of the Civil War as a step in the World's history

is appreciated by few, although from the narrower view of American history, we claim to have mastered its meaning.

The true meaning of the Civil War from a national standpoint is that the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, theretofore untested and theoretical, became established as actual and real in the national consciousness.

But from the broader standpoint, the grand significance of that war lies in the fact that mankind has begun to understand that antagonisms and strife between states and nations, as between individuals, must give way ultimately to a higher era of mutual co-operation toward the common goal of all Government—the freedom and liberation of humanity wherever it may exist.

Our own country in small, may be likened in an imperfect kind of way, to what the world in large may tend to become.

The little fringe of thirteen weak and separate colonies along the Atlantic, sparsely settled, jealous, antagonistic to each other, have by their federative co-operation based on the recognition of the Universal Law, become the most wonderful Nation of mighty commonwealths on Earth, exerting a power for the liberation of mankind that is strongly felt in the uttermost corners of the Globe.

The unexampled prosperity of the American States is due in large measure to the fact that the causes that brought on most of the strife and wars in history are here determined by a Supreme tribunal under a paramount law, which determines controversies between the States, whether they be of military power and aggression, of money and finance, of disputed territory, or restrictions of trade and commerce between the States, of imposition of duties on imports and exports.

Our method of settling these things is as much superior to that of the former method of war and reprisal as the sphere of law itself is higher than that of private vengeance and rapacity.

The Civil War is an apparent, not a real, exception to the tendency of our institutions to promote interstate peace. It

was really a war fought to eliminate war, and in that it was successful. Nor does the fact that in our external relations we require a powerful navy, militate against the truth of the aforesaid tendency to universal peace, for that does not result inherently from our institutions, but in spite of them, for the very reason that they are *not* universalized; within the bounds of the United States and so far as the federative principle extends, military forces have almost no function to perform.

The principle of American Federation has partially universalized itself by the peaceful assimilation of the vast territory included in what may be termed the United States proper. It shows symptoms of extending into the world at large by attempting an educative process; so in Porto Rico, Cuba, the Philippines, Hawaii.

Recalling Dr. Snider's analysis of the rise of Rome, it might strike one as analogous to ours, and that her fate also may be ours. But the vital difference is that Rome, as such, denied her basic principle outside of herself; it associated the World through herself, and refused to really make the rest of the world Roman. Modern Europe, even England, does essentially the same. The United States, on the contrary, imparts its entire self to every new State, which is incorporated or assimilated within it as a part of itself. Where Rome forced itself upon peoples by brute power and war, Americanism must universalize itself by educative development, and peaceful assimilation—or fail.

Conquered provinces held in subjection by the grip of military supremacy should form no part of, and are contradictory to, universal Americanism. In fact, opposition thereto is the very thing that gave birth to this Republic.

The suggestions heretofore herein made were with the idea of showing in a general sort of way the trend of benefits and advantages that might develop if it should ever come to pass that the Nations of the Earth might stand toward a Universal Whole, as do the respective American States to the Federal Government.

For, considering the diversified experiences required in developing the territory now covered by the United States, the heterogeneous nationalities, even races, from which its population is derived, the vastness of its territory, its diversified interests and wide differences of climate, it may well serve as a commercial and political microcosm, or little world within itself, for the purpose of pointing the operation of underlying principles that may be reflected on a grander scale in the world at large.

The American political thought, though incorporated for the first time in our government, is one that sometime must become world-wide in its scope, for it is the key to the ultimate Ideal State.

The Declaration of Independence is founded upon the common brotherhood of Man, our Constitution upon the common brotherhood of Government.

But the scope of neither is limited to America or to any particular country or race, but is as broad as all humanity.

It is of course understood that the Universal State will be a Utopian conception for an indefinite time to come.

We think that the United States take a step in that direction, but furnish not much more than a hint of the general drift of history.

Even within, the American States fall far short of their own immediate theories and pretenses, and retain numberless evidences of crudity. The negative element has by no means been overcome.

The old spirit of the second stage often shows both at home and in our relations with other nations.

For instance, the exercise of the right to choose our own representatives, upon which rests the whole fabric of our Government, national, state and local, which should be most sacredly vouchsafed, is often, through ignorance, indifference, debauchery of the ballot, and fraud, transformed into a travesty, nay mockery.

So also the denial of the most fundamental of personal rights proclaimed in the Declaration, is even now a matter of daily occurrence. There is a sad failure of universality in law, even toward the races. It is the avowed conception of large numbers,

not confined to the ignorant, sometimes even of whole communities, that one accused of certain crimes may justly be deprived of life without trial by law, his guilt being assumed without proof, by popular prejudice, if only his skin be black. The frightful abomination of mob-murder by lynching, often accompanied by tortures fiendish enough to sicken the heart of a half-human savage, is inflicted without attempt at legal interference, on unconvicted and defenseless victims, by mobs composed of thousands of men, women, and even children, who dance and gloat in ghoulish glee at unspeakable sights. And this more than barbaric spirit is complacently permitted, sometimes sanctioned, by educated persons supposing themselves to be good citizens. In fact, pure race prejudice has recently manifested itself in foul assassination of aged and helpless negroes known by their lynchers to be perfectly innocent of crime, by a howling mob of citizens, under the very shadow of the tomb of the Great Emancipator, in the Capital City of the great northern State of Illinois.

Neither are we free from prejudices between the classes and the masses. We hear much of the privileges of the rich, and more of the ravages of predatory wealth exploiting the people. Things have not abated since December, 1888, when one of the greatest of American Presidents, in an official message to Congress, referring to existing conditions, in part, said:

"Communism is a hateful thing and a menace to peace and organized government; but the communism of combined wealth and capital, the outgrowth of overweening cupidity and selfishness, which insidiously undermines the justice and integrity of free institutions, is not less dangerous than the communism of oppressed poverty and toil, which, exasperated by injustice and discontent, attacks with wild disorder the citadel of rule."

Again, among the forty-five States, the Constitution in its wisdom necessitates absolute free trade, and untrammeled commerce, and this is a prime condition which has brought about our prosperity. But the American consciousness has thus far not risen to an appreciation of the world-wide universality of this basic principle. We pride ourselves on a provincial pseudo-independence, which refuses to be benefited by the advantages derived from the most potent influence of civilization and progress, the natural, international division of labor. For from an industrial standpoint, the whole world is one Nation, the free and natural interchange and exchange of whose productions should not be hampered and crippled by a narrow-minded policy, which resorts to artificial means, based on sophistic reasoning, in its attempt to do by human law what is forbidden by the laws of commerce. We raise industrial plants in tax-created hot-houses at an indirect but enormous net expense to our own people. Under a perversion of the just power to tax, insidious tribute is levied on all for the benefit of a favored few, by means of laws masquerading as beneficial to the country as a whole, but the avowed object and purpose of which is to hamper, cripple and prevent national trade in certain directions with the world at large, thus compelling this country to make products which it is cheaper for the country as a whole to buy than to make. The system is a disguised remnant of provincialism, on a gigantic scale.

But it is unnecessary to multiply illustrations. These, like the latent presence of our brute inheritances, easily suggest themselves. In fact we often are startled by a realization of the utter thinness of the veneer of civilization, even in the most enlightened nations of the world.

But the World Spirit has time. And when history is viewed in the long perspective there is traceable the Great Unseen Mind directing events according to its own plan.

Can not the attentive ear now and then already distinguish amidst the tumultuous discord of war and strife, the faint preliminary strain which will in the far-off future by degrees swell into one grand political symphony world-embracing in its scope?

May it not even come to pass that if America fails to transcend her present limits and truly to universalize the inherent thought which is pointing the way, some other race may be

called upon to seize the flower and fruit of Caucasian political thought, so painfully evolved through the centuries, and transform it for higher development and further evolution?

This does not seem so impossible as it did only a decade or two ago.

Japan has already studied and made her own by assimilation the triumphs of the Caucasian industrial and mechanical world, of its machinery and inventions; yea, it has even turned against one of the great white nations its own contrivances of war, using Caucasian inventions to destroy the Caucasian inventor. If that new Yellow Power could in the same way make its own the lessons of the history of the white race, and seize the result of its civilization, strange things might happen.

Under conceivable possibilities it may even be that the World Spirit, swerved from Japan by the pervading duplicity and dishonesty which seems characteristic of the Islanders, might take its flight to that old Asiatic race on the Continent, which is singularly free from those vices, and otherwise ethnically unpolluted. Asia always has been the land of potentialities.

Indeed, one of the wonders of recent times is the awakening of China with her 400,000,000 people, from her lethargy of 5,000 years. Even prior to the electrifying of Asia by the recent Yellow defeat of the White, the Manchu dynasty, voluntarily and of its own initiative, determined to give its people a constitutional form of government. The proposed instrument is not to be a haphazard venture contrived by revolutionists, self-appointed. It will be the result of many years of careful investigation in Europe and America of the governments there, and of the diverse methods of granting suffrage.

Edicts to the Chinese people in successive years outline a policy of progressive extension of popular power, and of education for further power. With cold and calculating precision the national mind and will are to be trained to a proper conception of these new functions, until the final event, which is to take place at a fixed date in the future, until which time this system of education is to go on.

These edicts display a modern spirit marvelously different from old China. There is a deliberate anticipatory preparation for a future, that may be portentous.

It would be hard to conceive of a more scientific, evolutionary and thoroughly up to date system for the extraction of the essence of all that is best in Caucasian thought, and its permanent impartation to these hitherto despised people, while the evil and negative therein is to be cast aside. Can they do it?

There must have been a time when the World Spirit was with that land in developing her ancient civilization. The Flowery Kingdom reached its bloom far back before the twilight of history. Contact with the live world has sent her to seed; but may not perhaps a new China spring therefrom?

In connection herewith the Boston *Herald* recently editorially remarks:

"Meantime, while this process of preparation . . . goes on, time in its flight may bring to China a great call to duty which will accelerate the rapidly growing national consciousness. . . . Europe and America face a continent alert, no longer somnolent or suppliant, but in the first stages of substitution of the occidental of ideal democracy for the oriental ideal of autocracy."

Perhaps, who can tell, the Spirit of History, after belting the Earth and returning to her prehistoric starting point, may some day arouse the sleeping leviathan from his slumber of fifty centuries, to fulfill with renewed vigor a hitherto unsuspected destiny.

But in the meantime we need not waste our time in speculating on a distant future; let us at this day and in this land, add our mite to the fulfillment of the promise of true Americanism.

The irresistible drift of the world is toward more intimate association, and its expansion over units of larger size and greater power, extending over broader areas. It is so in every field of activity in life. In fact, a maladjustment of this power has created the great legal problem of to-day—the prevention of a negative association (conspiracies against the public in the nature of illegal trusts or unlawful combinations) which, though

but a part, seeks its own aggrandizement by assailing the social whole. But in the end the negative is overcome—in the final cycle works its own negation, as profoundly illustrated by the inevitable undoing of Mephistopheles by himself in the immortal "Faust" of Goethe.

Provincialism becomes increasingly incompatible with the broader life of to-day. Mutually destructive antagonism of the parts is being displaced by mutually helpful association in the interests of the social whole.

True human co-operation is the mighty principle at whose magic touch will ultimately crumble all barriers to progress, physical and psychical, material and spiritual.

Principles of relationship and unity are seen between things previously regarded as wholly discordant. Political activities and functions, once limited to immediate surroundings, with hostility to all else, have successively widened to the clan, the tribe, the city, the nation—and now what? The World, all Humanity, must become Man's country—in the fullness of time.

Yea, in the fullness of time. But see!—the first rosy tinge of the morning has kissed the loftiest peak.

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